

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 OIC-04 DRC-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-25 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-10 H-03 IO-14 AEC-11

AECE-00 OMB-01 EB-11 /175 W

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P R 081728Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 912

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 40

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 10120

FROM US REP MBFR

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING

DECEMBER 7, 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK, BOTH EAST AND WEST CONTINUED TO ELABORATE ARGUMENTS FOR THEIR GENERAL PROPOSALS IN PLENARY PRESENTATIONS THIS WEEK. SOME SIGNS OF FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND PROBLEMS BEGAN TO EMERGE IN INTERNAL ALLIANCE DISCUSSIONS AS WELL AS IN BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE EAST. A MAJOR TREND OF THE WEEK WAS INCREASING CONCENTRATION OF WEST EUROPEAN REPS AND EASTERN REPS ON THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION ISSUE. BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE EAST TENDED TO CONFIRM THE PRIMARY

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EASTERN CONCERN ABOUT THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES

OF THE WESTERN APPROACH, REFLECTING A CERTAIN SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER AN INITIAL FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS IF THEY CAN BE REASSURED CONCERNING A LINKAGE IN TIME AND SUBSTANCE ON REDUCTION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCES, ESPECIALLY THE BUNDESWEHR, IN A SECOND PHASE.

THE AD HOC GROUP THIS WEEK INTENSIFIED CONSIDERATION OF THE DIRECTIONS THE TALKS MIGHT TAKE WHEN THEY RESUME IN JANUARY. MEMBERS OF THE GROUP SEEM INCREASINGLY TO BE MOVING TWOARD THE VIEW THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE OVERALL WESTERN APPROACH WOULD BE TO GET THEM TO AGREE TO ADDRESS AND SOVIET GRUND FORCES FIRST. END SUMMARY.

2. EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. REMARKS OF ALLIED REPS THROUGHOUT THE WEEK REFLECTED AN INCREASING FIXATION ON THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF MBFR ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. THIS TREND, IMPELLED BY INTENSIFIED DISCUSSION IN EC CAPITALS ABOUT SUCH COOPERATION, HAS BEEN INTENSIFIED BY THE APPARENT SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT SAME SUBJECT. DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION IN THE AD HOC GROUP HAS LED TO SUGGESTIONS BY SOME ALLIED REPS, PARTICULARLY THE WEST GERMAN AND ITALIAN REPS, THAT THE EAST BE PUT ON NOTICE THAT THERE CAN BE NO SUB-CEILINGS PLACED ON WEST EUROPEAN NATIONAL FORCES AS OUTCOME OF SECOND PHASE. US AND UK REPS, HOWEVER, ARGUED THAT SUCH A MOVE WOULD CONSTITUTE PREMATURE DEFINITION OF THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. PRESSURES ARE NOW WORKING TWO WAYS ON THE BRITISH POSITION. ON THE ONE HAND, THE UK WANTS TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF SECOND PHASE NATIONAL REDUCTIONS, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND WANTS TO TAKE A HARD LINE AGAINST ANY OPTIONS BEING CLOSED OFF FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY.

3. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ON LINKAGE. IN NUMEROUS BILATERAL CONTACTS, EASTERN REPS CONTINUED TO PROBE THIS WEEK FOR FURTHER DETAILS OF ALLIED CONCEPT OF LINKAGE BETWEEN FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES AND SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATION TO INCLUDE

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NATIONAL FORCE REDUCTIONS. IN ONE OF MOST SPECIFIC OF CONTACTS, SOVIET REP (KHLESTOV) REPORTEDLY GAVE BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSEN) THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WAS LOOKING FOR WAYS TO RECONCILE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR INITIAL FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES WITH THE SOVIET NEED FOR A SPECIFIC REDUCTION AGREEMENT BY 1975 (TO CONFORM TO BREZHNEV'S SUGGESTED TIMETABLE) AND REQUIREMENT TO ASSURE MOSCOW THAT

WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOULD BE INVOLVED IN A REDUCTION SCENARIO OTHER THAN THAT PROPOSED BY THE EAST. OTHER BILATERAL CONTACTS TENDED TO CONFIRM THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE KHLESTOV-ADRIAENSSON DISCUSSION. AS ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF THIS EASTERN FOCUS, THE POLISH EP (STRULAK), IN HIS PLENARY PRESENTATION OF 5 DECEMBER, RAISED THE LINKAGE QUESTION IN TERMS THAT APPEARED TO CONFIRM EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THE ALLIED TWO-PHASE APPROACH.

4. AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION OF NEXT STEPS. CONTINUED SIGNS OF POSSIBLE EASTERN FLEXIBILITY ON THE LINKAGE ISSUE PROVOKED CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION IN THE AD HOC GROUP ABOUT THE DESIRABLE TACTICS TO PURSUE WHEN THE NEGOTIATIONS RESUME IN JANUARY.

GROUP DISCUSSION OF THE POINT HAS LED MOST REPS TOWARD THE CONCLUSION THAT THE BEST WAY TO ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH MAY BE TO GET THEM FIRST TO FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE FIRST PHASE.

5. OTHER BILATERAL CONTACTS. A NUMBER OF BILATERAL EAST-WEST CONTACTS OCCURRED IN THIS PERIOD, PRODUCING ASSORTED BITS OF INFORMATION. THE DUTCH REP (QUARLES) FOUND THE EAST GERMAN REP (OESER) STILL THE MOST UNYIELDING OF EASTERN REPS. THE ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) AND BELGIAN REPS IN SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY, FOUND SMIRNOVSKY TO BE IN A PESSIMISTIC MOOD, ACCUSING THE ALLIES OF NOT TAKING A SERIOUS APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE US REP, THE BULGARIAN REP (DICHEV) SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES HOPED A SUCCESSFUL MBFR NEGOTIATION ON CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD SET A PRECEDENT FOR A SUBSEQUENT SECRET

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ROUND OF FORCE REDUCTION TALKS FOCUSING ON THE BALKANS. IN A SEPARATE MEETING WITH THE US REP, THE HUNGARIAN REP (PETRAN) PLEADED THAT THE WEST NOT RAISE THE QUESTION OF HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION FREQUENTLY BECAUSE HE WAS UNDER STRICT INSTRUCTIONS TO RESPOND EVERY TIME THE ISSUE WAS BROUGHT UP. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE PLENARY SESSIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE SUPPLEMENTED BY MORE WORKABLE FORMATS, SUCH AS THE EMISSARY CONTACTS THAT TOOK PLACE DURING THE PRELIMINARY TALKS.

6. NOT TO BE OUTDONE, THE ROMANIANS KEPT UP THEIR BUSY SCHEDULE OF CONTACTS. IN A TALK WITH THE BELGIAN

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INFO OCT-01 OIC-04 DRC-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-25 PM-07

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P R 081728Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 913

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO MBFR MISSIONS 041

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 10120

FROM US REP MBFR

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

AND DUTCH REPS, ROMANIAN REP (ANNINIOU) INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE FLEXIBLE ON THE LINKAGE QUESTION IF THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT GAINING SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS OF NATIONAL FORCES COULD BE SATISFIED, BUT THOUGH THE SOVIETW WOULD NOT AGREE TO THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF ESTABLISHING A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE AREA. MEANWHKEL, THE ROMANIAN DEP REP (POPESCU) SUGGESTED TO THE BELGIAN DEP REP (WILLOT) THAT THE PROBLEM OF INVITING OTHER INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES TO THE TALKS COULD BE SOLVED IF THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD ISSUE A STATEMENT FROM A PLENARY SESSION REPORTING THEIR INTENTION TO KEEP OTHER STATES INFORMED, EITHER THROUGH A SET PROCEDURE OR THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS. POPESCU, IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH THE FRG REP (HOFMANN), EXPRESSED  
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DISPLEASURE WITH PROVISIONS IN THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE US TO STORE EQUIPMENT OF WITHDRAWN US TROOPS AND WITH THE FACT THAT THE APPROACH DID NOT PROVIDE FOR THE DISBANDMENT OF WITHDRAWN US AND SOVIET FORCES. HE SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES, HOWEVER, AND SAID THAT THEY SHOULD APPLY TO A WIDER AREA SO THAT ROMANIA COULD PROFIT FROM THEM. POPESCU SAID THAT ROMANIA MIGHT MAKE SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AFTER THE BREAK, BUT DID NOT SPECIFY THEIR NATURE.

7. ASSESSMENT. THE ALLIED DELEGATIONS WILL RETURN TO CAPITALS AFTER DECEMBER 14 TO CONSIDER TACTICS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN JANUARY. EAST-WEST CONTACTS IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS HAVE INDICATED THAT THERE MAY BE SUFFICIENT TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY IN THE SOVIET POSITION TO BRING THEM TO ACCEPT THE TOPIC OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS AS A STARTING POINT FOR SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS, POSTPONING NEGOTIATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCES IF THE ALLIES DECIDE TO EXPLORE THIS DIRECTION. THE AGREEMENT OF THE NAC TO TABLE FOUR SPECIFIC STABILIZING MEASURES PRIOR TO THE RECESS WITH APPLICATION LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES AGAIN MEANS THAT THE QUESTION OF WHICH FORCES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IN SOME WAY BEFORE THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS CAN GET DOWN TO PARTICULARS.

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## Message Attributes

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